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IRAQI-AFRICAN RELATIONS

The Great Change

1968 — 1982

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Foreword

The main theme in this monograph is the Iraqi-African relations and the great development which they witnessed, particularly since President Saddam Hussein received the highest position in the Leadership of Party and Revolution in Iraq. Between the closing months of 1979 and the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war in September, 1980, Iraq signed dozens of agreements with more than ten African states in the economic, cultural, scientific, technical, media and educational fields. More than ten African Heads of State visited Iraq during that period, and there was an active exchange of delegations and envoys between Iraq and Africa. Even after the war had started, and despite all financial burdens and commitments, Iraq never hesitated in extending a helping hand to the African states, especially those hit hard by the drought on the Sahil. In July 1981, Iraq offered \$30 million to the African Sahil states, in addition to fulfillment of all previous commitments according to agreements and protocols of cooperation with the African states.

All this is an incentive to the researcher to find out more and follow up the course of those

relations, and shed light on the common background, basic considerations, human aspects, main objectives in order to conclude forms and means which give those relations a momentum towards the great and radical change, leading to the expected results of these improving relations.

While trying in this monograph to record all these points, then the inevitably short time spent in its preparation would definitely encourage a more extensive probing into the Arab-African relations in general, and the Iraqi-African relations in particular.

Diab Nabhan
July, 1982

Arab-African Relations

Preface

After the Second World War, the world began to take a new form. The Yalta Conference was a turning point in this new formation, as the warring world of the time was divided into two camps: East and West, Communist and Capitalist.

Under a dominant US atomic supermacy, the policy of the times was the ability of 'comprehensive determent' which presently turned into devastating, comprehensive threat. When the Soviets succeeded in joining the atomic club, the cold war appeared as a substitute for the impossibility of real war between the heads of the two camps.

A new development set in with the introduction of long range missiles, which placed both US and the Soviet Union within range of complete destruction by the missiles of the other party. The steady development of radar and sophisticated technology made the first hit not very different from the second one, i.e., the super power starting the atomic war will not have a different fate from the party to take the next step when it comes to total and comprehensive destruction.

The balance of atomic terror led the strategy of international struggle to the idea of limited war. That balance made the use of atomic weapons limited to self-defence only, while a limited war is fought with traditional weapons, geographically far away from positions vital to both blocs, i.e., in the Third World. This created additional limitations to the freedom of action in the Third World countries and the nations aspiring to independence, liberty, progress and peace. The first of such limitations is connected with armament, and the capability of either US or the Soviet Union to directly interfere for the benefit of one side or another in such limited war.

Despite the effect of both limitations on the liberation movement in the Third World, there are some nations which could find their own way by overstepping both limitations, showing a growing understanding of the way to move within the range of mutual atomic terror and the development in the balance of power until they reached the so-called 'international detente'.

Despite whatever may be said of the detente policy, and its influence on Third World nations and their liberation movements, or of the agreement of the two super powers on the handling of world affairs, and, if reality does not contradict such agreement, it in fact affirms the ability of any nation. given the revolutionary will power, to

liberate its country even though the occupation force were American imperialism itself and not one of its allies. The use of armament as a means of pressure could therefore not succeed with a revolutionary will, and, ultimately, international balance cannot stop nations from liberating their homelands.

It is in the light of such introduction that the Arab-African liberation movement may be considered, now that such movement has gained momentum since the 'fifties, when western strategies were trying to gain footholds for their hegemony, domination and loot in the Arab homeland and Africa, in order to block the communication of culture and civilization between the Arab and African nations, and the autonomous driving force of the Arab and African liberation movements. In many cases, these strategies tried even to block geographical communication, since the control of waterways and strategic points became a constant and central policy followed by the major colonial powers, through which they could guarantee their domination and imperialistic needs for raw materials and markets. The occupation of Palestine and the creation of the Zionist entity by imperialism and international Zionism provide a proof of this needed geographic separation between Asia and Africa, to encircle any communication by

military force, direct or indirect.

This look at the Arab and African liberation movements should lead to point out certain considerations which call for supporting the solidarity between the two aspects of the same struggle:

1. Both Arab and African countries belong to the developing nations, following a non-aligned policy. This in itself creates enough basis for understanding between the Arab nations and Africa.

2. Both Arab and African countries were subjected, at periods of times close to each other, to similar waves of European invasion of military, political, economic and colonializing nature, for the following purposes:

- A. To guarantee navigation lines.

- B- To enlarge the area of political influence and look for outlets for the internal European problems by exporting their struggles to other parts of the world.

- C- To search for markets for their industrial products and to find areas to provide Europe with raw materials to keep the European industry going.

3. Both Arab homeland and Africa were exposed to a similar form of colonialization. What happened in South Africa, and in Zimbabwe before independence, is similar to the Zionist presence in the Arab homeland.

4. More than half of the Arab nation and more than half the area of the Arab homeland are found in the African continent. This carries with it intricate historical and economic implications, despite the attempts of European imperialism to deface the Arab image before African eyes.

5. Since imperialistic domination aims at both Arabs and African, the Arab-African awakening towards liberation and progress has become related in time. This makes the joint struggle of both nations a way to achieve joint victories, whether in the field of national independence, economic, social or cultural fields.

6. The challenges which have been facing the Arab and African liberation movements are similar to a high degree. The racist and segregational policies exercised against Arabs and Africans alike, whether in occupied Palestine or in South Africa and Namibia is evidence enough. Since Israel was implanted by force in Palestine, it started, through a revival of the colour problem -

the racial segregation - inside the African continent, by building bridges with the countries of east and South Africa, so the relation between Israel and South Africa has come to possess a peculiarity forced by the meeting of Zionism and racism in the same arena, since both of them are usurpers of other people's rights. (1).

These basic and important considerations form objective factors to bring Africa and the Arab world close to each other. They call for finding a strategy of Arab-African cooperation in political, economic, cultural and media fields, based on these considerations and on the principles of the Non-aligned Movement.

It hardly needs emphasis that the growing Iraqi-African relations at the present stage form an example that may be followed to develop the Arab-African relations, since they form sound and strong bases for these relations.

(1) The Political Statement of the Arab-African
Symposium, Tunis 2-5 May, 1981.

arab-AFRICAN RELATIONS:

A Historical Background

The previous considerations have a historical background of joint Arab and African relations. It may be useful to cast a look at that background, to look for explanations for the feelings of doubt and caution which dominated those relations before the Second World War and after. That was a state of affairs created by the domineering colonial powers in Africa at that period, in order to drive a wedge in the Arab-African relations and keep the colonial powers dominant in Africa in cultural, economic and political fields. The Arab option for Africa, as the African option for the Arabs will buttress relations between the two parties, support their aspirations for liberty, independence and self sufficiency, while the coupling of Arab and African cultures will enhance both and push them out into modern life and give both full rein to express their aspiration to civilization and humanity.

The Arab-African relations used to be of the traditional type, based on Arab culture, stemming from Islam in Africa. In addition to that, there were the trade relations between the Arab Africans and the Arabs of the peninsula, and between East and West Africa.

Imperialist Europe was able to undermine those relations by spiteful propaganda, in order to give a free hand to Western European culture against Arab-Islamic culture in Europe, and to support European domination in the African continent.

It was not until many African students lived and studied in Arab universities and the old Islamic centres of learning in Egypt and Magreb that a tangible change was effected in the Arab African relations, leading to better developments.

The July 23, 1952 Revolution in Egypt had another effect on supporting cooperation with Africa, and Egypt began receiving considerable numbers of African students in Egyptian universities and various institutes of learning. Special radio programmes were initiated to explain to the African natives the real part played by imperialist powers to loot African wealth and keep ignorance and backwardness in the African continent. Those radio programmes were a big help to the national liberation movements in the African colonies of the time.

Cairo also hosted a number of African national leaders exiled from their homes by imperialist authorities. Egypt also did its best to provide the newly independent African states with whatever

aid was possible in technical, agricultural and administrative fields to help those African states lessen their dependence on the previous colonial powers.

With the receding imperialism from Africa and the attainment of independence by several African countries, the Israeli government became active in trying to break up the Arab-African relations, directed and supported by imperialist powers. So, the Arab-Zionist struggle began to take new dimensions inside Africa.

But the formation of the Organisation of African Unity gave a new start to Arab-African relations to disrupt the Israeli plans which aimed at the destruction of Arab African relations by giving them the wrong interpretation. The Zionist media was active in proclaiming that the Arabs had used their money and oil to influence the political decisions of the African states.

ARAB-AFRICAN COOPERATION:

Perspective and Problems

What are the perspectives of Arab-African cooperation? What are the problems against a speedy achievement of such cooperation?

It is well-known that, until recently, the African states remained under colonial domination. Although several Arab countries were also under the colonial yoke, some achieved independence before the African states. This led to various results which were, in all cases, leading the Arab nation to support the liberation struggle of the African nations, helping them to achieve political gains of good results. This helped in the liberation of the African continent on the one hand, and, on the other, it created deep relations of joint struggle, which reflected later on in the relations with the African states which achieved independence at the same time with some Arab countries.

On the other hand, attempts by powers which still occupied the African countries succeeded in giving Israel a foothold through companies, banks, various missions and direct political activities of the Zionist movement, leading to disseminate doubts in certain African quarters against the Arab attitudes.

What helped the achievement of some of that organised campaign is that imperialist plans coin-

cided with Zionist plans in the African continent. Imperialism found in Zionism a suitable indirect inheritor of direct colonial rule suffered by Africa for such a long time. The imperialist countries found in the attainment of independence by African countries, especially after the UN resolution to liquidate colonialism, a weakening of the US and Western Europe in political, economic and military aspects. This is what cleared the way for Zionism to step into the place of European imperialism, helped by these points:

1. Some of the support gained by Israel from imperialist countries was partly shifted to investments in Africa.

2. When the African states achieved independence they found themselves in great need for help in many fields, which made them ask for help in economic and military fields in particular. Asking for such aid from imperialist countries was surrounded with various risks. Therefore, the newly independent African states were ready to accept the first 'aid' that came their way. This enabled the US to bring Africa back to US sphere of influence without direct military occupation, after the receding of British and French influence from Africa in particular and the absence of western European influence in general.

The fact that Israel carried out imperialistic

designs and intentions does not mean it was a mere tool in the service of those powers. Israel had its own carefully drawn strategy to be carried out in Africa. While rendering services to the US and western Europe, Israel was also carrying out its own plans in the first place, without jeopardizing US and European interests

Such Israeli intentions in Africa seek areas of influence to start economic and political activities in Africa, to jeopardize Arab-African relations or hinder their establishment at the expense of Israeli interests. In fact Israel was trying to make its own relations with Africa a substitute to African relations with the Arab nation. At an early stage, Israel realized the importance of the growing number of African states in the international community, in the UN and specialized agencies in particular. In that early stage, Israel was able to achieve a number of objectives in the Zionist-African relations:

- 1. An indirect control of the newly independent African states by the imperialistic-Zionist alliance in economic, military and political fields through a third party unknown to the African states but reliable to the imperialistic powers and acting on their behalf in Africa.**

- 2. A chance for the Zionist entity to overstep its limits, which remained in a narrow international**

range, as a result of the Arab boycott to Israel on the political and economic levels on the one hand, and, on the other, as a result of the aggressive and expansionist conduct of Israel, its disregard of the international community, UN resolutions and charter, and threat to security and stability in the area.

3. Israel aimed a blow at the struggle alliance which was established between the Arab nation and the African nations during the period of common struggle against imperialism. This had its implications to the Arab nation which was sometimes forced to take attitudes based on reactions towards the African nations, on the assumption that they had undermined Arab friendship and preferred the Zionist enemy.

4. Getting rid of certain political and economic burdens which the US and Europe had to bear for Israel by giving the latter a chance to enlarge its activities, depending on its own **potentials** to look like a power capable of offering aid and experience to others, gaining from all that positive points for Israel on the international level.

To achieve these aims, the Zionist entity adopted a policy with an appearance completely opposite to its reality. It gave the appearance that

it supports the african states to a degree of voting for a UN resolution to take economic sanctions against South Africa in 1961. The Zionist entity also succeeded in starting diplomatic relations with most of the African states. But reality soon began to uncover before African eyes during and after the October 1973 War.

THE OCTOBER WAR AND THE GREAT CHANGE

The October War sounded the strength of the Arab-African relations and their dependence on historical factors and principles. This was shown by the stand taken by the African states against the Zionist aggression and policy of expansion and occupation of Arab lands. The October War also pointed out the great importance of Arab oil in deciding a number of international policies. This led to the sound conclusion about the importance of the Arab and African countries, for their reserves of oil and other important raw materials basic for the continuation of industry and progress in various parts of the world.

This connection led to more Arab-African cooperation in various fields. Some Arab countries showed a marked readiness to extend economic aid to Africa, whether on direct and mutual basis or through Arab collective formations of an African orientation.

Within this frame of reference, the Arab Bank for Economic Development was set up with a capital of \$330 million. The Arab Fund for African States was formed on similar bases with revenues reaching \$200 million.

The Arab Fund of Arab-African Technical Cooperation was also established with revenues of \$25 million.

On this level, Iraq contributed to all Arab economic aid extended to Africa, in addition to the establishment of the Iraqi Development Fund in November 1974 with a capital of \$169 million to help the developing African countries.

Here is a list of Arab banks and establishments founded after the October War to support the development of African countries:

Name	Date	Capital	Place	Contributing Countries	Aim
1. The Arab Bank for Econ. Dev. in Africa	November, 1973	\$221 million	Khartoum	Arab League States	Dev. in Afr. States not members in the Arab League
2. African-Arab Fund for Petroleum Aids	January, 1974	\$200 million	Cairo	Algeria, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Uman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, U.A.E.	Easing financial burden on oil importing African States
3. Technical Assistance Fund for Africa	January, 1974	\$25 million	Cairo	Arab League	Aids in Technical Teaching and training
4. Iraqi Fund for Development	November, 1974	\$169 million	Baghdad	Iraq	Aid to developing countries
5. Arab-African Bank	1964	\$50 million	Cairo	Iraq, Egypt, Qatar, Algeria, Kuwait	Dev. in Arab and African Countries

These establishments have exercised a major influence in various vital projects in Africa, emphasising the ability to establish developed Arab-African relations. The activities were exercised in most of the African states, showing the difference between these aids and loans and those which used to come to the African states with strings and ties. The Arab-African relations were thus given a new impetus, expressed on various levels and taking numerous aspects as the following:

1. Increased activity of Arab policy in Africa to encourage the joint interests and enlarge perspectives of cooperation based on mutual respect.

2. Israel's disregard for UN resolutions and those of the African Unity Organisation and other regional organisations which supported the Arab right. Thus Israel joined the racist system of South Africa, cooperating with the same in every field, especially that of military and technical industries and nuclear technology in order to influence the free and independent options of the African states through terrorism and disruption of the balance of power in the area and the African continent.

3. Increase of African and Arab awareness in the face of challenges to both Arab and African states on regional and international levels.

The resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity issued on 21 November, 1973 was a clear indication about the development of relations of joint struggle between Arab and African states. The resolution expresses African support of Arab struggle, a condemnation of Israel and a demand of its unconditional withdrawal from the occupied Arab lands, emphasising the necessity of the Arab Palestinian nation to regain its legitimate national rights. The Conference of East and Middle African Foreign Ministers issued a resolution at the same period condemning the unholy alliance between South Africa, Portugal, Rhodesia (before independence) and Israel. The Conference also condemned Israel for its aggressive policy against the Arab nation. There were other resolutions about the economic cooperation.

The Arab reception of these positive developments was highly appreciative, expressed in the Arab Summit Conference held in Rabat, Magreb in 1974, then in the first Arab-African Summit in Cairo, 1977. The latter Conference issued four documents of exceptional importance, defining the Arab African cooperation. These documents are: the political statement, the statement on economic and financial cooperation, the programme of Arab-African cooperation, and the

application of Arab-African cooperation.

These statements and programmes took form in the organisations of joint cooperation and have achieved a good deal of their objectives for the benefit of both Arab and African nations.

In this connection, the Arab Bank has issued two statements in 1977 and 1981 about the figures and areas of Arab aid to Africa. This will give an idea supported with figures about the Arab efforts for the development of Africa.

The second of these statements was presented to the Arab-African Symposium of Journalists held in Tunis between May 2-5, 1981. The statement shows that Arab aid to Africa by the end of 1980 reached \$5706.892 million. The statement considers this figure incomplete for various reasons: The figures of 1980 were incomplete. Except for oil facilities in the International Monetary Fund, where the Arab contributions were estimated, the financial aid promised by the Arab countries to Africa do not take into consideration Arab contributions to the International Bank, the International Agency for Development, the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, the special UN account and International Agencies of the UN. As the statement points out, the Arab contribution to the budgets of these organisations partly help Africa. So,

taking those contributions into consideration will markedly increase the Arab aid to Africa.

The following table shows undertakings of the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa in aid to the African countries, 1975-80:

Country	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
SAHEL Countries	1.600	-	7.200	0.927	-	10.000	19.727
Senegal	7.000	-	-	8.868	-	-	15.868
Niger	-	-	-	9.703	-	-	9.703
Tchad	-	3.300	-	0.598	5.200	-	9.098
Gambia	-	-	-	0.964	2.400	-	3.364
Cape Verde Islands	-	4.500	-	1.879	-	-	6.379
Upper Volta	-	15.000	5.000	1.860	10.000	-	31.860
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	95.998
Underdeveloped Countries	-	-	-	0.540	-	-	0.540
Ethiopia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Central Africa	8.000	-	-	4.600	-	-	12.600
Benin	-	4.000	-	6.000	-	10.000	20.000
Burundi	-	-	-	2.200	-	7.250	9.450
Botswana	5.000	-	10.000	-	-	8.000	23.000
Tanzania	-	-5.000	-	-	1.570	8.000	9.570
Comoro Islands	-	-	6.000	-	-	-	11.000
Rwanda	-	-	4.840	1.029	6.000	-	11.869
Guinea	-	-	-	6.000	3.900	-	9.900
Lesotho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Malawi	-	-	-	4.850	-	-	4.850
Uganda	-	-	-	-	-	-	112.779

Country			1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
<u>Severely Affected Countries</u>							
Cameroon	10,000	-	10,000	-	-	9,000	189,050
Ivory Coast	3,330	-	-	-	-	-	29,000
Sierra Leone	-	5,000	-	-	-	8,500	3,330
Ghana	8,330	-	10,000	-	-	-	13,500
Guinea Bissau	-	-	-	1,116	-	-	18,330
Kenya	-	5,000	-	1,908	5,000	-	1,116
Madagascar	5,000	-	10,000	-	-	-	10,000
Mozambique	-	-	-	-	-	10,000	16,908
Angola	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
Gabon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Congo	10,000	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
Togo	3,340	-	-	4,400	-	-	3,340
Zair	10,000	-10,000	-	-	-	-	14,400
Zambia	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
Zimbabwe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Southos and Principe	-	-	-	-	-	1,200	-
St. Helles	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,200
Swaziland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tropical Guinea	-	-	3,200	3,920	-	-	-
Liberia	-	10,000	-	-	-	-	7,120
Maurelius	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
Nigeria	-	0,100	-	6,509	-	-	-
Regional Establishments	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,609
Total	71,600	61,900	6,240	67,870	44,070	71,950	383,630

Notes: (1) Figures quoted by million (2) Less developed countries in Africa (18) including the Sahel, except Malawi Senegal. (3) Severely affected areas are the 7 Sahel and the rest of African countries except Comoro Islands, Botswana,

The Arab Fund undertakings to extend loans to African states in 1974-77 reached \$214.244 million. The total undertakings from Arab countries supporting the development institutions reached \$5706.892 million between 1973-80. This includes undertakings from the Saudi, Kuwait, Abu Dhabi and Iraq Funds in addition to the External Libyan Arab Bank.

Note: Tables taken from a report presented to the Arab-African Symposium of Journalists, held in Tunis, May 1981.

IRAQI-AFRICAN RELATIONS

The Model

In an address by President Saddam Hussein to the Arab-African Symposium of Journalists held in Tunis, May 2-5, 1981, the President of the Republic of Iraq said:

“Revolution Iraq, under the leadership of the Arab Ba’th Socialist Party has firmly endeavoured to develop relations in every field with the African states. Iraq has been offering genuine brotherly support to the liberation movements in the African continent, and to the national systems of government to contribute to an easy achievement of objectives by African nations. Recent years have witnessed a development of communication, exchange of visits and cooperation between our country and the friendly African countries, whether on mutual basis or within the Non-aligned Movement which we are particularly concerned about, and will have the pleasure to host its Summit in 1982”.

The question of solidarity of struggle between Iraq and the national liberation movements in Africa has assumed an important position in the concerns of Party and Revolution leadership in Iraq.

There are various aspects which brought together the struggle of the Arab and African nations, based on common objectives in independence, progress, and struggle against the common enemy represented in imperialism and racism, whether in Palestine or South Africa.

In the first part of this monograph I have explained those aspects in a manner hoping to lead to enough realization of the vital importance of Arab-African relations, and to help in facing all hostile attempts to undermine the national African options and those of the Arab nation.

The Zionist movement and international imperialism with their advanced base in Israel have tried to jeopardize the Arab-African relations and to block their achievements. They have tried to place the Arabs and Africa as confronting each other, attempting through pressure to sabotage some African attitudes towards Zionist occupation of Arab lands. But those attempts have gained nothing except failure.

It is within this frame of reference that genuine Iraqi support of national and liberation movements in Africa, and within a frame of brotherly and friendly relations that such support enhances those relations and helps towards their development, buttressing real independence and non-alignment as basic objectives of the African nations.

IRAQI SUPPORT OF AFRICA:

Basic Considerations

Although Iraq has founded a special Fund for external development aid, it has never faltered in extending brotherly support to the African liberation movements. Iraq has shared in all Arab institutions previously mentioned in ratio with its potentials and clear attitudes in supporting peoples struggling against foreign influence and imperialistic hegemony, against systems exercising racial segregation like the Zionist entity and South Africa. The Iraqi support and aid extended are exercised in a manner buttressing the relations of Iraq and the Arab countries with Africa.

The Iraqi efforts in this field are based on a number of basic considerations connected with the ideology and principles of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party which led the Revolution in Iraq since its outbreak in July 1968.

The Political Report of the Eighth Regional Conference of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party (1974) has denoted these considerations as follows:

- 1) Requirements of the Arab struggle for liberation, the Palestine issue and the Arab struggle against Zionism.

- 2) The belief that Arab revolution is part of the international revolution and that unity of struggle

between the two is necessary to face imperialism, aggression, usurpation, and racial segregation.

3) The necessity of establishing firm relations in every field between the Arab nation and other nations and states of the world in a frame of human solidarity to face problems and crises of the age, which throw their burden on the developing states and nations.

These considerations assume a special importance through the following facts:

1. The Arab homeland, of which Iraq is part, lies in Asia and Africa. In fact the greater part lies in Africa, considering area and population. A number of neighbouring countries are connected with the Arab homeland by ancient ties in various fields.

2. The similarity of situations and objectives of both Arab and African countries calls for solidarity between the two. This has a decisive importance to liquidate colonialism of both old and new types, to put an end to racism, to achieve social progress and refashion international relations and balance on new bases, reflecting equality of chances, mutual respect and interests.

These vital considerations, adopted by Iraq in its foreign policy and relations with African states, have been proven sound by real experience, not only on the Iraqi-African level, but also on the level of Arab-African relations in general.

IRAQI-AFRICAN RELATIONS:

The Human Aspect

Iraq is a part of the Arab nation which has a comprehensive and unique human attitude based on the effort to build up a human community dominated by the principles of right, justice and equality.

Throughout various periods of time, including the present, the Arab nation has been subjected to campaigns of character-defamation. Therefore, it becomes quite necessary for the Arab nation, through Iraq as a component part of that nation, to express itself through relations with other nations, forming those relations in accordance with the requirements of the human attitude and human struggle. Iraq is capable to undertake such role since it has a revolutionary national leadership which has shaped its independent and free will in the political programme of building balanced relations with other countries within the holy option of decision making.

The Arab nation is also fighting against fragmentation, imperialism, Zionism and backwardness. Iraq is now carrying the banner of this struggle. Therefore, Iraqi relations with African countries also stem from supporting the struggle of those nations for the achievement of the same

objectives in the African countries. The victory over colonial powers in any part of the world weakens the colonial existence in the world in general.

Therefore, the alliance with the Third World countries, and Africa in particular, and supporting their struggle for liberty, independence and progress is imposed by the human aspect of the Arab struggle for liberation.

It goes without saying that alliance and support cannot achieve desired results when limited to media fields without material basis to guarantee the achievement of aims. Imperialism and Zionism have unjustly thrown on the oil-producing Arab countries and the OPEC countries the responsibility of the economic crises dominating the world of today. But, the initiative taken by President Saddam Hussein to establish an International Fund to support the poor countries, in addition to the wise step taken by Iraq to freeze prices of oil exports from June 1, 1979 to the end of the same year had a tangible influence on hostile propaganda waged by imperialist and Zionist quarters to undermine the movement of solidarity among the Third World nations and the Non-aligned Movement.

So, the Iraqi-African relations have grown steadily since the outbreak of the July Revolution

by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party to lead Iraq along the path of independence, refusing annexation and subjugation to international blocs and pacts, emphasising autonomous will and right to express legitimate independence.

The July Revolution in Iraq broke out at a time when the dominating concepts found it mandatory to align with one of the two super powers, since they are the two polarization centres in the world. But the July Revolution tried to formulate new concepts in building international relations, based on the principles of independence, freedom and equality.

Therefore, the policy adopted by Iraq on the external level was governed by these principles along the correct lines, for the benefit of Iraq and the world countries dealing with Iraq. Hence the financial or economic aid extended by Iraq to this country or that of the Third World or African countries is a particular application of those principles. The African countries cannot express their independence or liberate their will while suffering, at the same time, a sharp need for construction and development. Moreover while these countries support the vital Arab causes, they must fall under political and economic pressures to affect their steadfast position and adoption of independent policy expressing their

tendency towards liberty. Therefore, the financial and economic aid to African nations by Iraq and the other financially capable Arab countries liberates these countries from pressure, and make them believe in the advantages of supporting the Arab struggle for liberation.

It may be said that Iraqi-African relations have gone through two basic stages after the July 17, 1968 Revolution. The first stage goes up to 1975. The second one begins at that date and goes up to the present. This is not saying that there were no relations between Iraq and the African countries, or that such relations were weak before the July 1968 Revolution. But those relations began to gain strength after that Revolution led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, when Iraq adopted a free and independent policy at home and abroad. The Revolution took a number of measures like the liberation of the Iraqi national wealth from the oil monopolies. That measure helped the Revolution in Iraq to draw up ambitious development plans and investment programmes in ratio with the growing financial powers of Iraq and the aspirations of the Iraqi people to a better standard of living.

Iraq was early to take the initiative of the idea of an Arab-African Bank for Development, sharing by \$30 million in its capital. The idea gained momentum within the collective efforts of Arab

cooperation with Africa, and by extending rescue aid to African countries affected by drought. (In mid 1981 Iraq offered \$30 million as an urgent aid to the African Sahel countries hit by drought).

When we remember the holy war which Iraq is fighting against Iranian aggression, and the high expenses of the battle, we realize the decisive value placed by Iraq on the relations with Africa, and the impetus to that attitude which aims at supporting the African states to enable them reach self sufficiency and avoid falling a prey to foreign interests and political currents.

In a state of war with Iran, Iraq definitely needs the liquidity to help meet the requirements of that war on the one hand, and to continue the development plans on the other. But the Iraqi aid to the Sahel countries hit by drought, under the present situations, prove the ability of Iraq to carry on commitments to friendly countries on the one hand, and, on the other, to provide requirements for those countries to face problems and crises.

Iraq has also presented a proposal about helping African countries in the field of oil. Iraq expressed readiness to take trainees from African countries especially in oil exploration, at a rate of 30 trainees a year for six years.

Iraq also sent geologists and engineers to the African countries to help in development plans.

Iraq had offered this technical aid during the Conference on Arab-African Cooperation in Cairo (January, 1974). Iraq believes in the necessity to enlarge relations with Africa and not to limit those relations to political or diplomatic fields only. Such relations must be supported by economic relations too. Iraq also believes that Arab economic dealing with Africa should not remain limited to aid decided by one Arab country separately that may go to one African country and not to another, for certain political, social, cultural or religious reasons. Furthermore, such aid could be of a temporary nature, and far from reaching the desired objectives.

ARAB-AFRICAN RELATIONS:

Examples of Iraqi Support

The idea of Arab-African cooperation was brought up in the Sixth Arab Summit Conference held in Algeria in 1973, where it was decided to support this cooperation in every field and on all levels.

In the Rabat Summit of 1974 it was suggested to hold a summit to discuss the best ways and means for such Arab-African cooperation. It was decided to take up the matter between the Arab League and the Organisation of African Unity, before the holding of the Arab-African Summit. An Arab delegation of some Arab Foreign Ministers was formed to visit the African countries and explain the resolutions of the Seventh Arab Summit, in support of Arab-African solidarity.

A joint committee of 24 Arab and African states was formed to prepare a plan of Arab-African cooperation and to draw up the joint principles and objectives for such cooperation. Iraq was chosen a member of this committee which held its first meeting in July 1975.

In November 1975, the Government of the Republic of Iraq presented a list of proposals to the Secretariat of the Arab League with the objective of giving more support to the Arab-

African relations.

In early 1976, Iraq put those proposals in a Working Paper to develop the bases of cooperation with Africa. That Paper showed that the Republic of Iraq hopes to develop relations on sound bases, to let the African governments and nations feel for themselves the advantages of cooperation with the Arab nation. This would block the way before imperialism and Zionism and their manouvres to cast shades of doubt and caution on the Arab-African cooperation.

Those adverse attempts try to keep the way open to loot African wealth and subject the African nations to the strategic interests of the foreigner.

The Iraqi Working Paper and proposals became an Arab Working Paper when it was adopted by the Arab and African Foreign Ministers in their meeting in Dakar, Senegal on April 19, 1976. The meeting led to the approval of the Political Statement and the Programme of Action which was referred to the Arab-African Committee. That Committee of 24 held a meeting at Lusaka on January 24, 1977 to look into the matter.

Iraq had a prominent role in preparing the draft of the Political Statement and the Programme of Action, with the administrative matters which

were to put both statement and programme in action. Iraq also had a hand in finalizing those papers and in preparation of the agenda for the Arab-African Summit.

Iraq found the time was ripe to hold the Arab African Summit. African solidarity and union had to be supported by Iraq, a country fighting for Arab unity. In Arab unity lies a real advantage for Africa and the Arabs alike. Cooperation and coordination between two groups which are strong and unified form a better weapon in fighting against backwardness and imperialism.

The unity of the Arabs as that of the African nations is one **prerequisite** of victory and flourishing societies.

It is with these principles in view that the Iraqi policy endeavoured to buttress relations between the Arabs and africa in all fields. The African nations will then realize that these many sided relations do not aim at a passing interest, but they seek the establishment of genuine and lasting friendship between the Arab and African nations.

The important Iraqi part within the group of Arab countries in supporting Arab-African relations is paralleled by an equally important role on the level of mutual relations.

SOME IRAQI-AFRICAN AGREEMENTS

Iraq concluded a number of agreements with the African states to enlarge and develop trade relations. Some loan agreements were concluded to help carry out economic development plans in those African countries. Other agreements were concluded in the cultural, technical, media, educational and agricultural fields of cooperation.

These are some of those agreements concluded in the last three years:

1. Two agreements of cooperation concluded between Iraq and Madagascar in November 1979, to develop cooperation in economic, scientific and technical fields (1). The two agreements aim at developing cooperation and exchange of experts.

2. Two agreements were concluded between Iraq and Mozambique to develop economic, trade and scientific cooperation, exchange of experts and commodities(2).

3. One agreement between the Iraqi News Agency and Mozambique Information Agency on December 12, 1979 to cover coordination, training and exchange of news and broadcasts between the two agencies (3).

(1) Jamhuriya daily, (Baghdad) 1 Dec., 1979. (2) Thawra daily, (Baghdad)

13 Dec. 1979. (3) Thawra daily (Baghdad) 13 Dec., 1979.

4. One agreement with Seychelles Islands on:
(A) Forming a joint company for fishing.
(B) A protocol for cultural and educational cooperation signed on April 29, 1980(4).
5. Two agreements with Guinea concluded on March 1, 1980 on trade, economic, technical and scientific cooperations.

The two agreements provide for increasing and variation of trade exchange, extending facilities to set up trade exhibitions and centres, encourage enterprises of the socialist sector to conclude trade agreements between the two friendly countries.

The agreements also provide for extending Iraqi experience to Guinea in agriculture, irrigation, industry, oil, education and accepting trainees and students in the Iraqi institutes and universities, and the formation of a joint Iraqi-Guinean Committee to develop cooperation between the two countries (5).

6. Joint protocol with the Senegal Union of Technical and Agricultural Research and the Union of Agricultural Association, concluded on August 15, 1980.

The Protocol provides for the exchange of visits with the two unions to learn from agricultural ex-

(4) *Jamhuriya daily (Baghdad)* 30 April, 1979. (5) *Jamhuriya daily (Baghdad)* 1 March, 1980.

perience, and accepting ten Senegalese farmers in agricultural institutions in Iraq. The protocol also provides for the exchange of experience and the readiness of Iraq to accept two students, of Senegalese farmer parents, in Iraqi universities every year. It also provides for consultation between the two parties to coordinate attitudes in international organisations for the service of peace and liberation in the world, to struggle against Zionism, racism, and all forms of racial segregation in the world (6).

7. One agreement on economic and technical cooperation with Mali, concluded in February, 1980. It was agreed that the Iraqi Fund for External Development undertake the evaluation of some development programmes in Mali and recommend financing such programmes in the light of the credit policy of the Fund.

8. One agreement with Zambia on economic, technical and scientific cooperation, another agreement on trade, a third one on cultural exchange were concluded. It was also agreed to form a joint Iraqi-Zambian Ministerial Committee in mid-November 1979. Iraq expressed readiness of the Iraqi Fund to evaluate Zambian economic development programmes to recommend their

(6) *Thawra daily*, (Baghdad) August 17, 1980

financing by the Fund within plans.

The Zambian and Iraqi sides studied the possibility of forming joint projects to serve development in both countries, and the establishment of a joint bank with contributions from friendly African countries with the approval of both sides. It was also agreed to set up direct relations between Iraq and Zambia in the field of re-insurance by Iraq, when that is found advantageous to both Zambia and Iraq (7).

9. Amendment of economic cooperation protocol concluded with Tchad (No. 177 of 1978) on April 29, 1978 in the light of the friendly relations between Iraq and Tchad (8).

(7) *Thawra daily*, (Baghdad) October 16, 1979.

(8) *Annual Bulletin of the Central Bank of Iraq*, 1978.

IRAQI AID AND LOANS TO AFRICA

Iraq believes in the necessity of strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation with the developing world in general and the Non-aligned Countries in particular. Iraq also believes in emphasising the common principles of national independence and economic liberation. Therefore, Iraq has extended offers, loans, and financial aid to the following number of African states:

1. A 2 million pounds sterling loan in the form of goods and services.

2. In July 1974 Iraq extended aid to west African countries hit by drought amounting to \$6 million, comprising 11 thousand tons of cereals, and a great deal of medical supplies to 6 African countries including Tchad, Upper Volta, Niger and Senegal (9).

3. On October 22, 1979, Iraq extended a financial aid to Mozambique amounting to \$10 million to support their economy and relations with that African state (10).

4. On a visit to Iraq by a Zambian delegation in November 1979, Iraq signed an agreement of loans

(9, 10) *Jahmouriya daily*, (Baghdad), October 22, 1979.

and aid to Zambia where Iraq offered \$9 million in addition to \$30 million in credit, providing Zambia with crude oil reaching 150,000 metric tons in 1980.

5. Iraq offered Tchad a loan for \$12 million in the form of goods, medicines and agricultural products. This was concluded during a visit by the Tchadian Minister of Economy in August 1978. Iraq offered Tchad a children hospital completed in a remarkably short time.

6. In 1975 Iraq extended a loan of \$10 million to Uganda. After the troubles leading to the fall of Idi Amin government Iraq offered an urgent \$1 million with \$5 million in credits to the government of Uganda.

7. Iraq shared with other Arab countries to offer a financial help to the African Sahel hit by drought. The Iraqi share was \$30 million, offered in June 1980.

8. In August 1981, Iraq signed an agreement with Senegal extending a loan of \$2.6 million at no interest. The RCC issued Law No. 106 of 1981 to ratify the agreement of that loan, explaining that Iraq believes in buttressing the relations of friendship and cooperation with the developing countries in general and the Non-aligned Countries in particular, and that both Iraq and Senegal wish to emphasise the common principles in political and economic independence.

9. Iraq increased its share in the capital of the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa. That share went up to \$105 million. Bank funds to share in the development projects reached \$376 million, going to 36 African states in September 1981.

Dr. Shathli Ayyari, Controller of the Bank, spoke of the Arab role in the economic development in Africa, making a special mention of "the Iraqi role in supporting the development in Africa and helping Arab-African cooperation to be active on many levels". Dr. Ayyari told the Iraqi News Agency correspondent in Khartoom that "Iraq is the No.3 State in funding the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa".

10. Iraq extended a loan of \$6.5 million to Kenya to fund the Plastic Project there.

11. Iraq offered \$1 million to Benin in early 1979.

12. Iraq contributed \$10,000 to support the struggle of Namibia (South West Africa) in their struggle with Swaziland to liberate South Africa from the racist regime there. This is in addition to \$20 million to the South African nations.

13. In 1975 Iraq set up a Fund to finance development programmes in the Arab countries and the developing nations. The initial \$50,000 doubled in 1976, and in 1979 the capital of the Fund

reached \$200 million to serve 25 Arab, Asiatic and African countries.

The Fund loaned \$20 million to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in November 1979, in addition to \$30 million to Tanzania, at a low interest.

It is noteworthy that the Tanzanian government was badly in need for that loan in that period, as it was in great dispute with the International Bank which stipulated, before giving Tanzania any loan, that Tanzania revoke the socialist programmes. That means that the International Bank interfered in the Tanzanian options, using the need for loan to exercise pressure on that government and interfere in the economic and social options of an independent state.

This shows that Iraqi loans and aid to African countries emphasize the vital importance of cooperation between developing and Non-aligned Countries, in order to be free from foreign and imperialistic pressure, to buttress economic and political independence, and save the national administration from exploitation.

The genuine and friendly cooperation between Iraq and the African countries extended to countries other than the ones mentioned above. Boron-di signed an agreement of cooperation with Iraq in February 1980. Mali signed a similar agreement at the same date. Nigeria signed an agreement in

June 1981, Gambia in July 1981, Cape Verde Islands in May 1980, in addition to other African countries benefiting from Iraqi loans and aid.

AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE VISITING IRAQ IN THE LAST THREE YEARS

1. Mr Didet Ratsiraka, President of the Republic of Madagascar visited Iraq, November 28 - December 1, 1979. The guest was received with his delegation by the President and the people of the Republic of Iraq to express the friendly feelings towards the government and people of Madagascar.

2. Mr. Samora Moises Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique with a high ranking delegation visited Iraq, December 8-13, 1979. After the outbreak of the aggressive Iranian war on Iraq, Mr Machel visited Iraq twice.

3. Mr. Moussa Traore, President of the Republic of Mali visited Iraq, February 4-7.

4. Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia visited Iraq, November 14-17, 1979. Then he visited Iraq a second time, September 10-11, 1980.

5. Mr. Ahmed Secou Toure, President of Guinea, visited Iraq, January 18-20, 1979. A second visit was on February 27 - March 1, 1980.

6. Col. Seyni Kountche, President of Niger, visited Iraq, June 22-24, 1980.

7. Mr. Aristides Maria **Pereira** President of Cape Verde Islands, visited Iraq, May 11-13, 1980.

The African heads of state were all received with great welcome by Mr. President and the people of the Republic of Iraq, to show the genuine feelings of solidarity between Iraq and the African nations.

The joint statements about those visits issued by Iraq and the African states spoke of the following:

A. High appreciation by the African states of the progressive achievements effected in the Republic of Iraq under the leadership of President Saddam Hussein and the direction of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in all fields leading to the socialist development, supporting the country's independence and control of its wealth. The African heads of state also appreciated the role played by Iraq in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, both old and new; against Zionism and racial segregation.

B. Emphasising the right of the Arab Palestinian nation to recover its entire rights in the Palestinian homeland and to establish its independent state there.

C. Condemning the two Camp David Accords signed by the Israeli government and the Egyptian regime with the backing of the U.S. in early September 1978, considering both accords a conspiracy on the rights of the Arab nation, and an attempt to disrupt Arab unity and keep

the Arab land under Zionist occupation.

Condemnation was also issued against cooperation of the Zionist entity and the racist system in South Africa in their hostile attitude to liberation movements in the African continent. The Zionist aggression on Southern Lebanon was also condemned.

D. Full support of liberation movements in Africa and Latin America.

E. Full cooperation for the success of the Non-aligned Summit to be held in Baghdad in September 1982, and the necessity to coordinate efforts of developing countries to carry out UN resolutions in the two sessions on setting up a new world economic order

F. Appreciation of the Iraqi initiative in proposing the establishment of a long term International Fund to help developing countries against inflation, providing the industrial countries, irrespective of their economic and political systems, contribute to this Fund in ratio with the annual inflation which they export to the developing countries. The oil producing developing countries are to contribute to that Fund as well.

G. Appreciating the Iraqi decision to substitute the poorer developing countries, which have oil agreements with Iraq at present, for any increase to the official rates starting from June 1, 1979 to the end of the same year. The substitution is to be done

through long term loans, at no interest, in ratio with the increase on oil prices, until a basic and just solution to the problem is found.

H. Supporting the dialogue between developing and industrial countries about the international economic cooperation in development, emphasizing that negotiations should be on a practical level, allowing a complementary and balanced handling of basic questions. These negotiations should be carried out under UN auspices and by full participation of all countries in a limited period of time. Discussions should cover the basic questions of raw materials, energy, trade, development, financing and currency.

AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS: The Iraqi Support

Despite the clarity of the Iraqi attitude in supporting the liberation movements in the world in general and the African liberation movements in particular, a matter discussed in the previous sections, a separate treatment of the subject will complete the picture of the Iraqi-African cooperation, as a type of relations of various aspects, within a frame of joint struggle and aims.

Since the July 1968 Revolution, Iraq used every effort to support the African liberation movements. Such support was doubled when Iraq came out victorious in the battle of political and economic independence, liberating national wealth from monopolies and imperialistic powers.

Iraq supported the struggle of Zimbabwe for independence, being among the earliest to recognize Zimbabwe and its national government on April 17, 1982. The statement of the Foreign Ministry of Iraq said:

“In compliance with Iraq’s foreign policy in supporting liberation movements of the world nations which withhold dictatorship, imperialism, racism in all forms including Zionism, and fighting to gain freedom and independence. And owing to the victory achieved by the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of its national government, the gov-

ernment of the Republic of Iraq has decided to recognize the Republic of Zimbabwe and its national government, the legitimate representative of the friendly Zimbabwe people.”

The people and government of Iraq supported the people and government of Angola in August 1981 when Angola was aggressively attacked by the racist system of Pretoria. The Iraqi Foreign Minister, Dr. Sa’doun Hammadi cabled to his Angolan counterpart, Mr. Paulo T. George saying:

“We were very angry to hear of the South African aggression on the lands of the People’s Republic of Angola. We would like to express the feelings of solidarity of the people and government of the Republic of Iraq with the people and the government of Angola. We stand by your side against the forces of the racist Pretorian system”.

At the UN, Iraq supported the Namebian delegation in a joint statement on June 12, 1980 by saying that a just and constant settlement of the Namebian question is only possible with the direct and full participation of Swappo, the sole, and real representative of the people of Namebia.

The statement called for imposing comprehensive economic sanctions on South Africa, including an oil embargo, since that system has occupied Namebian territory for 14 years to date, constantly refusing to abide by Security Council resolutions

and the recommendations of the International Court.

On September 10, 1981, in a special UN meeting on **Namebia** Iraq endorsed the Non-aligned Movement emphasis of the direct responsibility of the international organisation to protect Namebian territory, and that the UN General Assembly had to recognise the rights of Namebian people in liberty and independence under the leadership of the Swappo organisation.

Iraq has condemned the attempts of racist Pretoria to cut out Rowalvis Gulf from Namebia, which is an encroachment on Namebian territory. Iraq also condemned the loot of uranium from Namebia. Iraq demanded the application of UN plan for Namebia which was recommended by Security Council resolution No. 435.

Iraq constantly emphasises the resolution of the government under the leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist party to extend complete material and moral support to the African peoples who are still fighting against racism, and in order to gain independence and national objectives, to take their place with other independent countries in supporting liberation movements and non-alignment of the Third World countries. Iraq will always continue this course to effect a tangible application of Iraqi principles and human objectives, and to realize Iraqi efforts to achieve a world more peaceful,

stable and flourishing.

There is no doubt that Iraq alone cannot achieve the goals desired without joint struggle and genuine brotherly cooperation among all of the Third World countries.

رقم الايداع في المكتبة الوطنية ببغداد

(٩٦٣) لسنة ١٩٨٥

طبعت بمطابع دار الجماهير للصحافة

العلاقات العراقية-الافريقية

التحول الكبير

بقلم : ذياب نبهان

اصدار : دار المأمون للترجمة والنشر
وزارة الثقافة والاعلام

بغداد - ١٩٨٥

رقم الايداع في المكتبة الوطنية (٩٦٣) بغداد ١٩٨٥

الطبعة الانكليزية

تصميم الغلاف- فاتن مدحت